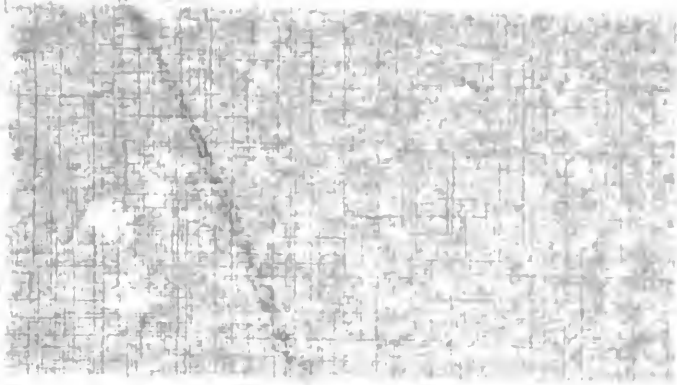




3 1761 03554 2992



DB
495
.1
G35



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

PRINTED AS MANUSCRIPT.

N^o 3rd.

W. U. P.

EASTERN GALICIA

AN

INDEPENDENT COMMONWEALTH.

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EASTERN GALICIA.

БІБЛІОТЕКА
НАРОДНОЇ ВОЛІ
NARODNA WOLA,

Scranton, Pa.

NO. ET 82

DB
495
.1
G35



1065187

Introduction.

In the former Austria-Hungary there was among the several countries forming it one — the vastest of all the monarchy's countries — with 78,000 square km and 8 millions of population. Her official name was: **Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria with the Grand-Duchy of Cracow and the Principalities of Auschwitz and Zator.**

After the débâcle of Austria-Hungary in the Autumn of 1918 the population of the Grand-Duchy of Cracow and of the Principalities Auschwitz and Zator, viz. the Western Part of the country specified above, attached themselves to the revived Polish State. The population of the real Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, viz. the Eastern Part of the country specified above, formed **an independent Western Ukrainian Republic**, realizing such their right of self-determination.

The conquering Allied Powers have laid down as their most important rule for the Reconstruction of Europe after the Great War the principle of **Self-Determination of Nations**. Yet this principle **has, alas! not been applied** to the Western Ukrainian (Eastern Galician) Population. Although the latter have unequivocally proved their will to lead an independent political life, the sympathies of the Allied and Associated Powers have been exclusively in favour of the Poles in the nine month defensive war (November 1918 till July 1919) the Western Ukrainian Republic was carrying on against the Poles. Owing to the efficacious assistance of the Entente, owing to the decisive intervention of the Roumanians from the South-East and, not the least, owing to the simultaneous danger for Galicia from the Red Armies of Bolshevistic Russia the Western Ukrainian Government and its army were forced to quit Eastern Galicia in July 1919.

Only on the 11th of July 1919 there was given by the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers in Paris the following decision:

"The Polish Government will be authorized to constitute a civil administration in Eastern Galicia after having formerly with the Allied and Associated Powers

(1.) made an agreement the clauses of which will have to warrant as far as possible the territorial autonomy as well as the political, religious and individual liberty of the population;

(2.) this agreement will be founded on the right of self-determination, that has to be practised, as referring to the political position, without further appeal by the inhabitants of Eastern Galicia;

(3.) the time for practising this right will be fixed by the Allied and Associated Powers or any organ they might authorize to do so."

In consequence of this decision Eastern Galicia was provisorily occupied by the Poles.

The Polish occupation of Eastern Galicia has brought Eastern Galicia, being since 1914 one of the most important and most devastated seats of war, to the utmost extremity. In scarcely a year about half a million of inhabitants have woefully perished, in consequence of the unprecedented repressive measures of the Polish occupation authorities as well, as by famine and diseases -- at the least not prevented by the Polish administration -- or in the ill-famed concentration camps of Poland. All sort of economical and cultural life of the country has been quenched and in part completely ruined. **That such conditions are untenable**, must be admitted by everybody having but a glimpse of humanity and justice. The degrading of five millions of men to outlawed slaves is a matter of fact! That a country, so much larger than Belgium, the Netherlands, Danmark or Switzerland, situated almost in the heart of Europe, must be in such hopeless conditions is exceedingly dangerous to the peace and order of Europe.

Considering such facts the population of Eastern Galicia, so cruelly disappointed of their expectations and in face of their national death, is taking all measures possible to make

themselves heard in claiming their rights by all decisive factors of the world's politic.

These lines are written to clear up the just foundations of Eastern Galicia's claims and to justify by facts the request of her people for independent political life. All attempts of the Poles to find among this population but a single group, ready to accept the union with Poland, have failed. With the exception of the Polish part of the former Austrian bureaucracy **and their petty adherents**, the population of Eastern Galicia continues, in spite of the cruel terrorism of the Poles, to claim their independence.*)

*) **Transcription.** The kind reader is requested to make use of the following rules in pronouncing the Ukrainian names:

(1.) the vowels and consonants have in general the same value and pronunciation **as in Czechian.**

(2.) c must be pronounced like ts, ě like ch, ch like scotch ch, j like y, š like sh, ś like sy, v like English v but shutting a syllable after an other vowel like french ou, y is always a short i and ž must be pronounced like s in pleasure (sounding).

I. The Galician-Lodomerian Realm.

Galicia as a state is surely no new political conception. **It is nearly as old** as most states of Europe and has its roots in the early Middle Ages.

During the 10th century Galicia formed an essential part of the old-Ukrainian (usually but falsely called old-Russian) Realm of Kiev. Only her western boundaries on the Wislok, San and Weper have been temporarily under Bohemian sway. These boundaries, usually called Tchervenian Castles (Peremyśl on the San, Červen on the Hučva) have been regained by the Realm of Kiev in 981. With this year begins the written history of Eastern Galicia.

Eastern Galicia has got her **first political organization by the Ukrainian nation**. The political tradition of Galicia forms therefore part of the Ukrainian political tradition. Within the old-Ukrainian realm Eastern Galicia was but for a century a province. The realm dissolved very soon in separate principalities and already in 1085 Eastern Galicia became an independent principality under the dynasty of the Rostislavides (1085 till 1199). In 1144 Halyč was promoted to be the capital of the country which took henceforth the name of **Halyčyna (Galicia)**.

Under the Rostislavides Galicia obtained temporarily decided frontiers towards the West and South, which till up to the present are more or less the same with the ethnographical frontier of the national Ukrainian territory. The western frontier running from the disembogouement of the Tanew into the San towards the South-West, passing by Rudnik, Sokolow, Rzeszow, Czudec, Jaslo, Sandez to the watergap of the Poprad and the

eastern slope of the Tatra mountains. The southern (Hungarian) frontier was running to the South-East, passing by Priašov, Užhorod, Munkačevo, Hust, Rodna to the crest-line of the Eastern Transsylvanian Border-Mountains. This frontiers were formed by impenetrable forests, covering the Carpathian Mountains as well as their pied-mont belt. Poland began but on the Vistula, Hungary in the Transcarpathian Plain.

Already under the Rostislavides Galicia formed but the heart, the nucleus of the state, that reached along the Dniester and Pruth the mouth of the Danube and the Blak Sea. A still greater growth Galicia witnessed under the sway of the Romanides (1200 till 1340). They acquired definitively the country of Wolodymyr Wolynskij, the so-called Lodomeria (Western Wolhynia, the country of Cholm, Podlachia and part of the country of Polesie) and extended the frontiers of their **Galician-Lodomerian Realm** to the North as far as the Narew and Pripet, to the East beyond the middle Dnieper. In 1253 the dynasty of the Romanides received the royal crown out of the Pope's hands.

Though the Galician Lodomerian Realm was surrounded on all sides by enemies, though the Poles and Hungarians were often meddling with the quarrels of the competitors for the Galician crown or waging open war, though the Yatvyagians and Lithuanians were repeatedly troubling the boundaries of the country by their marauding incursions, the country was reaching a great flower under her indigenous princes and kings. Halyč, the capital of Galicia was an emporium, larger than the Vienna or Paris of those times, it had more than 100 churches and was carrying on grand commerce with Central and Western Europe, Constantinople and the Islamic Orient. Greek, Italian, German, Arabic, Persian and other merchants had their own quarters and store-houses there, large caravans of carriages and fleets of vessels (on the Dniester) came with foreign good to Galicia's towns and returned, loaded with grain, honey, wax, salt, furs and manufacture, to their native country. The capital of Lodomeria, Volodymyr surpassed the German towns of that time in the splendour of its buildings and the strength of its fortifications. The old towns Peremyšl, Terebowla, Syanik, Zvenyhorod, Červenj, Plisnesk, Kolomija, Vasiliv, etc. were flourishing. New

ones were founded: Cholm (1237), Leopold (about 1250), both by the King Danylo, Jaroslav (by King Jaroslav the Wise), and so on. The economical conditions were splendid, the social conditions were in good development, as the free peasantry and the well-to-do towns-people were successfully counterbalancing the powerful but unquiet nobility of the boyars.

This first and sole flower of Galicia was first blighted by the Mongolian assaults of Djingiskhan (1223) and Batu (1240). They were followed by never ceasing Tatar Wars, robbing the country of her eastern and shore provinces and weakening most efficaciously the nation's strength. But at the beginning of the 14th century there came a new rise though in but a smaller degree. Yet the Tatar Danger, weakening the strength of Galicia, was indirectly increasing that of the neighbours, the Hungarians, Poles and Lithuanians. In this unhappy period suddenly the dynasty of the Romanides died out in 1340 and the Dynasties of Poland, Hungary and Lithuania, related by marriage, were at once pretending the heritage and tried with all means possible to make themselves masters of the Galician-Lodomerian Realm.

The lordless country was but a decade able to maintain her real independence. **Since 1350 Galicia and Lodomeria are deprived of their independence and are keeping up till 1772 only an autonomy within the body of alien states.**

II. Galicia and Lodomeria under Polish Rule.

Neither Poland nor Lithuania or Hungary could rely in any legal title when they rushed in upon the Galician-Lodomerian heritage after 1340. The crown of Hungary had at least the appearance of a title, as the Hungarian kings were intermeddling very much in the Galician crown-competitions at the close of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries and in spite of the failure of their aims were investing themselves with the title at least of "rex Galiciae et Lodomeria". The Lithuanian dynasty based their claims in the relations by marriage with the Romanides, besides they were in language and culture perfectly Ruthenian. Poland could only appeal to her once temporary possession of the Tchervenian castles (1018 till 1031 and 1069 till 1080), which (as stated above) were only enclosing the western boundaries of Galicia. The decision in the war of succession has been, completely against all expectations, in favour of Poland. Casimir, the King of Poland, allied with Hungary, acknowledged the latter's titles to Galicia and received in recompense in force of the treaties of 1339 and 1350 Galicia for life. Yet after his death Galicia remained but during 1370—1387 with Hungary, then she was united to Poland without ceremony by Edwiga, the King of Hungary's daughter, Queen of Poland at that time. Lodomeria's largest part was allotted to Lithuania and remained, as part of Volhynia, in her possession till 1569. In that year Lithuania ceded all her Ukrainian countries to Poland (Union of Lublin). Now the whole of the former Galician-Lodomerian Realm had come under Polish rule that lasted for more than two centuries till 1772.

The four centuries of Polish sway have been for Galicia in reality centuries of political and economical decay and decline.

Poland has been nominally a federative republic the single countries of which (Waywodships and provinces) enjoyed of a perfect autonomy under a powerless king and a riotous diet. The Galician-Lodomerian countries were newly subdivided, but the heart of them Galicia, remained as a large autonome unity under the name of (Red-)Ruthenia. She enclosed several provinces (Leopol, Halyč, Belz, Cholm, etc.), her old historical western frontier towards the provinces of Minor-Poland (Lublin, Sandomir, Cracow) remained always unchanged during the whole of the four centuries of Polish rule. It run over Lenčna Frampol, Tarnogrod, Rudnik, Rzeszow, Dukla and is to be stated on all historical maps of Poland. Considering such facts one should believe, that Galicia's population had every opportunity to develop in all directions and beyond all limits under the protection of a Grand Power of those times and with an autonomy that was almost independence.

The perfect contrary has taken place. **For there has been — it is true — autonomy and liberty in Poland, but only for those who were noblemen, catholics and Poles.** Those, who were not that, as for instance nearly the whole population of Galicia, became rightless slaves and not of a king but of a innumerable quantity of lords.

The Ukrainian population of Galicia, brought under Polish sway not by conquest but by inheritance treaties, has been treated from the beginning as a subjugated nation.

The greatest and general grievance of which the Ukrainian nation had most to suffer was **the general interior anarchy**, beginning already in the 15th century and continually on the increase up till the fall of the Polish Republic. The famous scholar E. Réclus makes the true remark, that "Poland, nominally a republic, was in reality a confederation of thousands of despotic monarchies". Each of these petty despots, or, with other words, each Polish nobleman and official was studious to maintain everywhere an unconsidering politic of extermination against everything Ukrainian. In spite of her anarchic interior

conditions the Polish government and society were always joined in rank and file against the Galician Ukrainians. The Polish politic of extermination against the Ukrainians of Galicia has always been a systematical one.

First the **occupancy of the farmland** was radically accomplished. The old titles of possession of the indigenous population were not at all regarded with it. The Polish kings and diets were not only giving away to the Polish noblemen the old domains of the former kings and princes, but also private land. The original usufructuaries and possessors were simply turned off with violence. Upon the Galician Ukrainian nobility (Boyars) was exerted a strong pressure. In spite of all treaties and vested rights the conditions turned thus, that whoever of the Ukrainian noblemen did not turn catholic or Pole was sure to lose his influence and fortune, even his quality as a nobleman sooner or later. To save the remainder of their possessions nearly all the Ukrainian Prince and Boyar families turned catholic and Poles (among them the famous families of the Wisniowiecki, Ostrozski, Czartoryski, Zaslowski, Rozynski, Woroniecki, Czetwertynski, Dzieduszycki, etc.). Already at the beginning of the 17th century great land-owners of Greek Faith and Ukrainian nationality were a great rarity — more than a half of the country was in the hands of the nobility immigrated from Poland, the remainder in the hands of indigenous, but polonized nobility.

The premise for any official position in Poland was the possession of land thus all magistracies fell completely in Polish hands already in the 16th century.

The **Galician towns** had been numerous and prosperous at the time of independence, the townspeople were wealthy and industrious. The Polish system of administration succeeded in ruining the towns and the Ukrainian townspeople within a short time. First turned out of the town magistracies, later excluded by special laws from manufacture and commerce the Ukrainian citizens were completely impoverished and removed to the suburbs. Immigrated Germans and Armenians were but a short time keeping alive trade and traffic, there was no Polish townspeople to supplant them. And thus all Galician towns

came to be jewish towns, no more centres of culture but centres of ransacking. For the jews, suppressed and robbed by the Polish lords were obliged to make up for their loss by robbing the peasantry. All towns of Galicia decayed, many towns came to be villages, Leopold had finally (1772) scarcely more than 10.000 inhabitants.

The Ukrainian peasantry of Galicia free and invested with a self-government at the time of independence, turned thralls under Polish sway. The Polish lord was allowed to sell his serf without being punished, even imprison him and mutilate, yea murder and the Polish nobility was making but too much use of such rights.

The Ukrainian language was first only tolerated, yet very soon it was removed from the courts of justice, the schools and the official life. The Ukrainian Literature, highly developed at the time of independence (Galician-Ukrainian chronicle, Song of Igor, etc.) was stopped in its development, the Ukrainian language soon degraded to a despised peasant dialect.

The Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Faith was completely outlawed under Polish rule and suppressed beyond measure. Galicia, under the rule of indigenous princes a home of perfect toleration of all faith, became the scene of greatest fanaticism under Polish rule. Note well, fanaticism against the faith to which nearly the whole population was clinging! And at those times faith was the chief foundation of nationality. The bishoprics were given away to unfit often even criminal creatures of the Polish kings and magnates. Churches and monasteries were turned catholic by force, the churchlands were for the most part given away to catholic churches and monasteries, but very often also to polish noblemen. The low clergy was with intention kept in ignorance and poverty.

There would be a possibility to excuse this intolerance by the catholic fanaticism of the Poles against the orthodox Ukrainians. But that would be an error. Already in 1439 and 1596 the Ukrainian Church had become catholic in consequence of a union with Rome. And yet the Ukrainian churches were rented to jews or even sold, the Ukrainian priests forced to soccage on the polish estates, their children made serfs.

The catholic proselitism was sure to make great progress in Galicia under such circumstances, particularly in the towns and among the upper classes of the population. To get rid of at least the religious suppression or forced by their lords also many Ukrainian peasants turned catholic, though they retained their language and customs. There is the origin of the greatest part of the "Poles" of Eastern Galicia, thus specified by the Austrian statistics.

Among all the consequences of Polish rule in Galicia the most pernicious were the **economical** ones. At the time of independence Galicia was a flourishing, rich country, the goal of merchants from the remotest countries, a fair mediator between the East and the West. The Polish rule was ruining the wealth of the country and her commercial position so completely and quickly, that the country had lost already in the 16th century all economical consequence for abroad.

After the rise of the great polish estates by the lawless bestowals of the kings or by simply robbing the land, the era of the illfamed "Polish slovenliness" was beginning there. The meaning of it was **reckless exhausting and thoughtless ransacking the country**. During centuries enormous quantities of grain, cattle, honey, wax, wood, coal, pottassic salt, etc. were squeezed out of the country. All that the Ukrainian peasant was obliged to furnish by heavy soccage and oppressive imposts and his wealth was pining away in it, the Ukrainian townspeople was reduced to beggary, as the industry was sickening in consequence of the general impoverishment and the impossibility of export and as the commerce was almost completely ceasing in consequence of the stopping of all traffic with the East and of innumerable custom-houses. Between Drohobyč and Jaroslav (120 km) there were no less than 147 custom-houses.

And in return to all these blessings the Ukrainian subject had not even the security of interior order and defence of the borders. There was reigning anarchy in the interior, to such a degree as to surpass by far the periode of the German robber-knights. Brlgandage was flourishing, the defence of the frontiers was such a beautiful one as to enable the Tatars to overrun the country every two years with great armies, smaller incursions

there were every year, many a time there were until 70. And that was continuing almost until the end of the 18th century.

Reading the description of such conditions everybody not sufficiently acquainted with the history of Eastern Europe would be bewildered and say: What sort of people is that, to bear such outrages without resistance?

But reading intently the pages of the Ukrainian nation in Galicia's history, written with blood and fire, we find this nation, — although cruelly drained by the continuative Tatar incursions, burning to ashes thousands of homes every year during the half of a millenium, murdering innumerable persons or kidnapping them — embracing every opportunity to shake off the cruel Polish yoke. The Galician Ukrainians have very early realised, that neither protestations nor law-suits could prove effectual. Even bribery, so omnipotent in Poland at all times, was not hitting its aim in this case. Therefore there was left only one remedy to the Ukrainians: that of open insurrections. They were aiding the insurrections of Swidryhajlo (1430—1440), Mucha (1490), Hlynsky (1506), were always ready allies of the Moldavian Hospodars in their wars against Poland, performed an important part in the wars of the Ukrainian cossacks against the Poles. In 1648 and 1649 all Galicia was rising to a man against the Poles and only after cruel and merciless reprisals they were again subjugated. Till the fall of Poland the Carpathian virgin forests were crowded with Ukrainian fugitives, returning the political and social suppression of their nation with robbery and murder.

But for shaking off the Polish yoke the strength of the Galician Ukrainians was not sufficient. The national energies were paralyzed by the incessant Tatar wars, to these were added the wars with the Turke and Swede, military insurrections and general anarchy.

A completely exhausted country, not even able to live on her own resources, with spoiled, depopulated towns and poorly villages Eastern Galicia was coming under Austrian rule in consequence of the first partition of Poland in 1772.

III. The Fate of Eastern Galicia under Austrian Rule.

(1772--1918.)

Austria acquired Eastern Galicia by the partition of the former Polish Reign and justified the aquisition by the titles of the kingdom of Hungary, in connection with which the territory was called "Minor-Russia and Podolia" (1772).

The Austrian government has united this Ukrainian territory with the Polish principalities Zator and Auschwitz and later with the grand-duchy of Cracow and formed a province of them, that derived the name of **Galicia** from the Ukrainian territory.

The later official styling of the country, making distinct her components, was: the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria with the grand-duchy of Cracow and the principalities of Auschwitz and Zator.

The Austrian bureaucratic rule has given the Ukrainian population **the abolition of villanage** (1782) and **soccage on the estates of the nobles** (1848), which was taken a deliverance from the Polish yoke by the Eastern Galician Ukrainians.

When Austria in 1848 was shaken to the foundations, the Eastern Galician Ukrainians were clinging to Austria and the Ukrainian guards were efficaciously preventing a Polish insurrection in Galicia.

Already at that time the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia made their chief national demand **the partition of Galicia** and the creation of a separate Ukrainian province in Austria out of the Ukrainian part of Galicia, viz. Eastern Galicia.

This claim of the Ukrainians was not realized and the Austrian constitution (1860—1867) united finally, against the will of the population, the territory of the Ukrainian kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria with the Polish principalities of Cracow, Zator and Auschwitz and formed out of them the monarchy's province Galicia **under the predomination of the Poles.**

According to an arbitrament pronounced by the leading Austrian statesman Count Beust the Ukrainians "had to exist inasmuch as it should be found proper by the Galician diet".

Thus the Poles got not only a Polish administration of the country, but also a great influence with the managing of Galician affairs in Vienna.

The politic administration, headed by a Polish lieutenant, was polonized and executed in favour of the Polish politic's ends. The whole bureaucracy was Polish and an Ukrainian was on principle not appointed to the civil service.

Also the judicature has been polonized in Eastern Galicia. There were — it is true — appointed Ukrainian officers of justice, but they were on principle excluded from all important positions.

The leading **authority in the country's affairs of education** the Galician board of education, was almost exclusively in Polish hands, to the effect to make the Ukrainians perfectly unable to prevent this magistracy's polonizing educational politic in the elementary schools. The founding of **public schools** with Ukrainian as the language of instruction was depending on a vote of the Galician diet. The way in which the Polish majority was exercising this right is shown by the fact, that in 1914 there existed in Galicia only five official Gymnasiums with Ukrainian as language of instruction but 80 official public-schools with Polish as language of instruction and every granting of an Ukrainian public school was to be vigorously contested for during years in the diet as well as in parliament.

As for the **universities** it will suffice to state, that the Poles were opposing with all means possible both the creation of new chairs with Ukrainian language at the university of

Leopol, where the Ukrainians had at all times their chairs, and the foundation of a separate Ukrainian university in Leopol.

Just as unfavourable to the Ukrainian nation the **economical** conditions were developing. Especially in the country, where the whole population was Ukrainian, nobody cared for a reform of the possession-titles on the land, which the peasantry was wanting urgently for their rise but in the contrary they were on purpose left to ruin, to force them to leave their paternal soil and either to seek work in the towns, where they were handed over to the perfect methods of polonizing, or to **emigrate to America**.

Thus the whole administration of Galicia was polonized and served only to the interests of the Poles whose chief aim it was to prevent the free development of the Ukrainian nation and to suppress them also in the sphere of material culture. Galicia was all the time an **Austrian province, where all politic power was completely in the hands of the Poles**.

The struggle against this system was very difficult for the Ukrainian nation. Condemned already by the electoral regulations to be a minority both in the Galician diet and in the Galician delegation to the Austrian parliament, they were moreover reduced to an insignificant group in both representative bodies in consequence of the world-known "**Galician elections**" arranged by the Galician administration to mean imprisonments, dooms and even massacres for the Ukrainian poller. Thus as well in the diet as in parliament only the Polish representatives were taken to be the representatives of the country.

Under such circumstances a **free cultural, economical and political evolution** of the Ukrainian nation was under Austrian rule **an impossibility**.

IV. The Constitution of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (Eastern Galicia).

(1918—1919.)

The Constitution of the Western Ukrainian Republic took its rise from the first session of the Constituting National Assembly, that took place on the 19th of October 1918 in Leopold and proclaimed in the name of the right of self-determination the formation of the independent Ukrainian State out of the former Austria's Ukrainian territories. This assembly, composed of all Ukrainian deputies that had been by universal suffrage elected into the Austrian parliament and the diets of Galicia and Bucovina, soon assumed under the title of "National Council" the functions of a permanent parliamentary representation. In the same way the first constituting parliaments (representative bodies) of the other so-called Austrian Succession States were formed. Thus especially in German Austria and Tchechoslovakia.

In the same constituting session of the National Council of the 19th of October 1918 the following principles of constitution were carried:

"The constitution has to be based in universal direct, equal, and secret suffrage with proportional representation for all representative and administrative bodies. The proportional representation serves to secure the autonomy and rights of national minorities, to which are warranted at the same time the full self-determination and cultural and national autonomy." (Article IV.)

According to this provision the country's national minorities were called upon to constitute themselves as separate

bodies and to delegate into the National Council the number of deputies due to their percentage in the population.

In consequence of the National Council's vote its delegates took on the 1st of November 1918 the administration of Eastern Galicia in their own hands.

Then there were read by the Ukrainian National Council: firstly the constitution bills (fundamental laws), in the second place the land bill, authorizing the government for the solution of that question, and in the third place the electoral regulations which passed the house in the sessions of the National Council in Stanislaw (April 1919) and got legal force. In consequence of these fundamental laws the finally voted constitution of the Western Ukrainian Republic presents itself as follows:

I. **The state is headed** by a president and a Board of Commissioners out of the National Council. Both the president and the board of commissioners are **elected** by the National Council. The president presides the National Council and the Board of Commissioners and is at the same time solely exercising the rights of sovereignty for the foreign countries. He is the **representative** of the state towards **the foreign countries**.

II. **The executive power** is exercised by the secretaries of state. The secretaries of state are elected by the Board of Commissioners of the National Council by which they are dismissed and to which they must give in their resignation.

III. **The legislative power** is exercised by the National Council. The elections into the National Council are based in universal, equal, secret and direct suffrage with proportional representation.

The president is assisted in presiding the National Council and Board of Commissioners by two vice-presidents. Both the posts are reserved to national minorities in the country. All elections by the National Council have to take place in separate national groups (curiae) only the election of the president must be enacted by the whole house.

The regulation of the questions of language and of education was still in preparation. According to the fundamental principles of the Constituting Assembly on the 19th of October 1920 these regulations had to be based in the national autonomy and equal

privileges. Ukrainian, as the language of the population's majority is taken to be the official language but in the intercourse of persons with the authorities all languages of the country enjoy the same rights. Transactions with civil authorities have to take place in the language of the person applying to the authorities, in the courts of justice the language of the accused has to be used. All public proclamations have to be in the official language as well as in the languages of the national minorities. Each nation in the state is to found and manage its schools independently by itself under the superintendence of the state secretary under the provision, that the system of education must be in concordance with the premises stated by legal regulation. In the schools of the national minorities Ukrainian as the official language has to be an obligatory object of instruction. The expenditure of public money for education are to be divided among the single national bodies, formed for educational purposes with reference to the national registers, according to their percentage in the population.

Neither the accomplishment of the above-mentioned bills nor the elections into the regular National Council could be brought about as the Poles in the meantime had been invested by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers with the mandate to occupy all Eastern Galicia and to constitute there a civil administration. What this administration is like will be described on the subsequent pages. Yet, there is to be hoped, the work of the first representative assembly of the Western Ukrainian Republic, inspired by a truly liberal spirit — the work that was fit to found a peaceable intercourse of all the nations of the state — shall not be lost.

In consequence of the Polish occupation both the National Council and the government of Eastern Galicia were forced to seek protection abroad and to fix their abode in Vienna and Prague. In Leopold remained since November 1918 a delegation of the Eastern Galician National Council but it is prevented by the Poles to effectuate anything.

V. Eastern Galicia under Polish Administration.

(1919—1920.)

Towards the End of 1918 the Poles began in Eastern Galicia a war against the established Western Ukrainian State to conquer Eastern Galicia for Poland. And the Poles were cunning enough to make the leading factors of the Entente believe, that their war was directed against the bolshevic gangs; in consequence of that they got supply of ammunition and clothes and the Haller army, sent over from France to Eastern Galicia, succeeded in driving away the Eastern Galician army beyond the river Zbrucz. Thus Eastern Galicia came under Polish rule at the begin of July 1919, for the first but in fact, by military superiority, yet soon also "legally" in consequence of the Supreme Council in Paris' decision of the 11th of July 1919.

In force of this decision of the Peace Conference at Paris Poland received the mandate to establish a civil administration in Eastern Galicia, being expressly stated this administration to be only a temporary one having to give way to the definite decision of Eastern Galicia's population.

Yet instead of an orderly **civil** administration Poland introduced a **wild terrorism** and was behaving and managing just as if Eastern Galicia had been for all future united to the Polish Republic and surrendered at her discretion.

They began with **wholesale imprisonments** of the Ukrainian population, especially from among the ranks of the educated but also from among the peasantry and to use the Ukrainian language in the street or in offices was sufficient to

be arrested. There were built large concentration camps, where thousands of Ukrainian citizens were mercilessly given up to starvation and cruel treatment and perished therefore by typhus and other diseases. Great mass of innocent people have fallen victim to this treatment. When the American Red Cross Missions were applying for a moderation of the regulations they were met by the Polish government either with a rebuff or the consequence was not only, a doubling of the imprisonments but also still more cruel persecution of the interned. In the time from July 27th till September 4th, 1919, only in the single concentration camp of Brest-Litowsk 774 interned Ukrainians have perished by persecutions and diseases. When this number was more and more on the increase the Polish government interdicted the Ukrainian press to publish the names of the defunct. The persecutions in the concentration camps were so cruel, that even in the Polish Diet the government was interpellated in consequence of them ("Dziennik Nowy" in Warsaw, No. 129 from July 26th, 1919).

Who from among the Ukrainian educated was not interned, was either confined to an ordered residence or made subject to endless persecutions and other vexations. Before all the **Parsons of Greck catholic Faith** were persecuted and many Ukrainian parishes deprived of their spiritual guides.

Officials of Ukrainian nationality have been removed from service, if they denied to take an oath of the Polish Republic (surely because Eastern Galicia is up till the present day according to the right of nations not yet united to Poland!) and many have been dismissed without any ceremony and without mentioning reasons.

The Ukrainian language disappeared fully in the offices and the Ukrainian population is exposing themselves to the most cruel persecutions if they venture to use their native tongue conversing with the authorities.

What the Ukrainian nation had gained **in the educational sphere** with the greatest painstaking and sacrifices under Austrian rule was by the Poles almost completely ruined. For instance in force of the Leopold school-board's act from May 4th, 1919, the Ukrainian language was abolished as language of instruction

in the elementary and upper schools and only permitted by way of exception where the school-children were expressively requesting it. From the **university** and polytechnic institution of Leopold all Ukrainian professors and lecturers were removed, all lectures in Ukrainian language inhibited and all Ukrainian students interdicted to attend as well the university as the polytechnic high-school. When then the Ukrainian scientific organizations like the Scientific "Šewčenko Society" the society "Petro Mohyla" and the "Stauropigian Institution" in Leopold were willing to make up for the want of high-school lectures by private university lectures the Polish government interdicted these lectures and is throwing obstacles into the Ukrainian students' way to hinder them even from completing their studies abroad. The Ukrainian Library and the Museum of the Basilianian Convent in Zolkiew are ruined; the edifices of the privat Ukrainian "gymnasiums" have been intentionally requisitioned by the Polish military authorities.

Also the whole **economical life** of the Ukrainian population has ben checked. The chief agricultural organization "Silsky Hospodar" and the general economical union "Sojuz hospodarskych spilok" were obliged to suspend their functions; most loan-banks have been dissolved and the few still extant can prolong their life only with great difficulties as they are exposed to permanent vexations by the authorities.

Most political newspapers in Ukrainian language have been abolished; for the few still extant there exists no liberty of press at all insomuch that it is even impossible to utter the grievances of the Ukrainian nation in their own press.

Taken all together the Polish government **did not establish peace and order**, but was poisoning the political atmosphere and creating hopeless conditions. They were not only trying to deprive the Ukrainian nation of its educated leaders but also to undo completely the Ukrainian peasantry. To this end were enacted not only endless requisitionings but also the peasants troubled by permanent searchings allegedly for weapons and ammunitions but in fact intended to rob the Ukrainian peasant of his property and make him, in consequence of eternal imprisonments, existence impossible.

There is no question at all of any action for agricultural relief and thus many peasants have to seek shelter in subterranean caves whilst great extents of farmland must always remain without cultivation. Yet in recompense the Polish government is maintaining a great **agricultural colonization** aiming to supplant the indigenous Ukrainian element and making it completely disappear in its own home by breaking up great estates and parcelling them out to Polish settlers from Western Poland. There have been given away till now 18 percents of the great landed property in Eastern Galicia to Polish peasants from the West and thus a methodical colonization of Eastern Galicia by foreign colonists is executed. And to all that the enormous costs of a voyage to America make also the emigration impossible to the peasant and thus the Ukrainian peasantry is condemned to turn lowest proletarians.

In such a way arises — in consequence of the population's hopeless condition — a situation that is **threatening with the greatest dangers the general peace and order.**

Under Austrian rule a prosperous development of the Eastern Galician population was impossible. But at least there was a possibility to live. Under Polish occupation **even life is impossible.** Punitive expeditions, pogroms, whole-sale arrestings, inconsidering hindrances in all spheres are threatening the Ukrainian and jewish population of Eastern Galicia with **national and economical death.** The Polish government's systemical mode of proceeding in Eastern Galicia means an **inconsidering politic of extermination,** that must be abolished in the common interest of humanity and culture.

VI. The Galician Territory.

The old historical frontiers of the Galician-Lodomerian realm embraced within the former Austria-Hungary the whole East and centre of the Galician province, the whole Bucovina and a broad bordering stripe of Upper Hungary from the Zips to the Transsylvanian frontier with a total extent of more than 90,000 sq. km.

Yet the Western Ukrainian state's political idea — in strict contradiction to those of the Polish and Hungarian states — is renouncing all ambitions to territories, belonging in the past to the Galician-Lodomerian realm but now no more inhabited by the Ukrainian nation. The leading idea of the Western Ukrainian state is **the continue ethnographical territory of the Ukrainian nation** within the former Austria-Hungary. This territory contains 75,000 sq. km., yet more than 15,000 sq. km. of it belong to Transcarpathia (allotted to Tchechoslovakia) and more than 5,000 sq. km. belong to the Ukrainian part of Bucovina (occupied by Roumania). **The continue Ukrainian national territory in Galicia embraces therefore 55,330 sq. km. with (1914) 5,450,000 inhabitants.** This territory forms at present the object of the Western Ukrainians' political ambitions.

The frontiers of the continue Ukrainian national territory in Galicia are formed by the old provincial borders and by the Polish-Ukrainian linguistic frontier. This linguistic frontier — according to official Austrian statistics on the nationalities (critical comparison of the results of census in 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910) — is running in the following manner (from the North-East to the South-West, districts and places):

District of **Lancut**: Kurilivka, Ožanna, Ržuchiv, Dubno;

District of **Jaroslav**: Dubrovycia, Pyskorovyči, Syniava, Ležachiv, Radawa, Ryškova volja, Konjačiv, Jaroslav, Harbari, Vysicko, Radymno, Zamichiv, Boratyn;

District of **Peremyśl**: Kosynyči, Macjkoviči, Seredna, Skopiv, Bachiv, Iskanj, Rusjke selo, Solonne;

District of **Bereziv**: Selyska, Volodj, Jablonycja, Hrošivka, Uluč, Lodyna, Kinsjke, Hrabivka;

District of **Sjanik**: Jalyn, Pakošivka, Kostarivci, Novosilci, Odrechova, Synjava, Voltušova, Balutjanka, Zavadka;

District of **Korosno**: Trostjana, Hyrova, Myscova;

District of **Jaslo**: Došnycja, Skalnyk, Berezova, Perekhymka, Volja ceklynsjka;

District of **Horlyči**: Bodnarka, Rozdili, Mencyna, Ropycja, Bilanka, Losi;

District of **Hrybiv**: Vavška, Binčarova, Bohuša, Koroleva rusjka;

District of **Novyj Sanč**: Matijova, Skladyste, Roštoka mala, Virchomla;

District of **Nowy Targ**: Čornavoda, Šlachtova.

The territory of the intended Western-Ukrainian Commonwealth is, considering its **physiographical structure**, analogous to Switzerland. Like Switzerland it is formed by a mountain nucleus and the belting uplands and lowlands. Only that the mountainous territory of Galicia is smaller in extent and lesser in absolute height, the uplands and lowlands in extent and fertility more important than those of Switzerland. Besides Eastern Galicia is already a typical Eastern European country showing obviously the characteristic features of Eastern Europe: grandour and uniformity.

Averted by the inflexible Podolian flake **the folded mountain range of the Eastern Carpathians** stretches in Eastern Galicia from the North-West to the South-East and reaches with its softly moulded crests and summits, built out of sandstone and slates, hardly more than 2,000 m height. It bears vast virgin forests and immense, luxuriant mountain meadows.

Along the northern crest-line of the Carpathians there is the zone of the **East-Carpathian Upland** built out of tertiary clays, wherein are buried great treasures in petroleum, Ozocerite, kitchen-salt, potassic salt, and brown-coal.

Towards the North follows the — interrupted — zone of plains : sabulous on the San, marshy on the Dniester, fertile on the Pruth.

Yet in the back of them the plateaus are like side-scenes protruding. Between the Pruth and the Dniester there lies the slowly undulating, in gypsum abounding but fertile **Pokutia**, in the North of the Dniester there is situated **Podolia** in its eastern part steppe-like, in the margins hilly, by steeply sloped river valleys carved but by most fertile black soil covered. Near Leopold it is meeting with the sabulous and forested plate of the Rostocze, flattening softly in the East to the moist depression on the river Bougue.

The **hydrographical system** of Eastern Galicia has a structure similar to that of Switzerland. The same as Switzerland also Eastern Galicia is crossed by the chief river-divide of Europe. Therefore it is embracing only the headwaters of larger rivers, fit to furnish considerable water-power for a future industry. Yet Galicia has also — in spite of this condition — several hundreds of kilometers of navigable river-courses (San, Bougue, Dniester, Pruth). It is true, these rivers have much lost in navigability in consequence of Polish slovenliness during centuries (chiefly by destroying the forests) and are now severely damaging the country by their annual overflows. Larger lakes there are none in Galicia, yet there are many large ponds and vast turfy bogs with inexhaustible supplies in cheap fuel.

The **climate** of Ukrainian Galicia is in the whole a temperate one and very salubrious. It is already, according to the Eastern European type — continental, more severe and dry than the still Central European one of Poland. Yet the vegetable garment, of Eastern — Pontic-type — is very rich, and likewise the animal life. The conditions for a development of agriculture, of cattle-breeding and similar economical pursuits are very favourable, much more favourable than in the neighbouring Poland.

Eastern Galicia is already a typically Eastern European country, connected by all her characteristics with Eastern Europe, and she would be with a Central European state like Poland, just so unnatural an appendage as she was with Austria-Hungary at her time.

VII. The Population of Eastern Galicia.

According to the official results of the census of 1910 in Eastern Galicia (jurisdictional territory of the Leopold Court of Appeal) were using as "language of converse":

Ukrainian:	3,132,233	= 58.9 %
Polish:	2,114,792	= 39.8 %
German:	64,845	= 1.2 %
Others:	5,288	= 0.1 %

among a total population of 5,317,158 inhabitants. From among 3,759 communities of Eastern Galicia the Ukrainian "language of converse" is predominant in 3,173 communities (84.4 %), the Polish one is predominant only in 352 scattered communities (9.3 %).

"Language of converse" means not the same as native tongue or nationality. But as there have not been in Austria proper national statistics, the numbers for the "language of converse" must be taken as a scale for measuring the national conditions.

From the official specifications given above we see, in spite of their inadequateness, that **Eastern Galicia is an Ukrainian country**, wherein the absolute majority of population is speaking Ukrainian.

Yet the official statistics tell us also, that about 40 percents of the country's population are speaking Polish. In this fact the Polish imperialistic politicians base their thesis that Eastern Galicia is **a territory with mixture of nations**. The Poles should be in number — as they admit — a minority, but, from an economical, cultural and political point of view, the only decisive element in the country.

This thesis is perfectly false. Within the ethnographical frontiers of Eastern Galicia given above the Poles are forming not 40% but hardly 12% of the population and they are living scattered in small isolated groups, their economical preponderance is a fiction, as the jews are the decisive element of Eastern Galician economical life, their political preponderance the Poles got thanks to the former Austria's artificial system of governing and the by her appointed bureaucracy.

The chief reason and at the same time the most important prop for the Polish imperialistic politicians' false theses as given above, are **the incredible falsifications of the Austrian statistics**, having been executed by all census (1880, 1890, 1900, but most shamelessly 1910).

Above all the Galician statistics of the "language of converse" have **conjured away the whole of one of the most important components in the Galician population.** These are the **Eastern Jews** of Galicia that, although they are speaking a German dialect and have a strongly marked national and cultural peculiarity, **have been all together registered as Poles.** To get out their number, we must make use of the official statistics regarding faith.

There were 1910 in Eastern Galicia:

Greek catholics: 3,291,218 = 61·7 %

Roman catholics: 1,350,856 = 25·3 %

Israelits: 659,706 = 12·4 %

Others: 34,397 = 0·7 %.

All the Greek catholics are (with exception of single persons, ethnographical phenomena), of Ukrainian nationality, in the same way all Israelits are of jewish nationality. It is a very rarely occurring fact, that jews are speaking the Polish language correctly, but a jew taking himself really a Pole is a still rarer bird.

The numbers in the statistics about faith (about 62% of Ukrainians, more than 12% Jews) are more approaching to truth. But only by several paces, For the first they only show, that the statistics about nationality have reckoned 172,000 Ukrainians and 660,000 jews to the Poles. As for the Ukrainians the number of 172,000 is to be taken only as minimum. The official

specifications about the Greek-Catholics are for about 200,000 inferior to the numbers, given by the Greek-catholic parishes and indicating the number of souls. Thus we see the statistics in regard to faith nearly as much counterfeited as those in regard to language. We offer for example (one from among innumerable the village of Kryvčyči near Leopold. It had

1880	17 %	of Greek-catholics,	74 %	of Roman catholics
1890	18 %	" " "	72 %	" " "
1900	96 %	" " "	1 %	" " "
1910	2 %	" " "	97 %	" " "

and all that, although it had not witnessed any catastrophe and nothing is known of wholesale apostasy. All has taken place only on the patient paper of the official census-registers.

According to the official statistics there would remain for the Poles of Eastern Galicia only the 25 percents of Roman-catholics in the population. For Polish Politicians since times immemorial all Roman-catholics in all Eastern Europe and thus also in Eastern Galicia pass for true Poles. Yet hardly a half of Eastern Galicia's Roman-catholics are Poles, the other half are Germans, Tchechs and other people of different nationality together with **more than half a million of Ukrainians with Roman-catholic faith** (about 570,000) — descendants of those who have professed the "Polish" faith still at the time of Polish rule to avoid at least the religious suppression.

In conformity with scientific researches by Professor Dr. Stepan Tomašivskyj, who has critically compared and compiled all numbers furnished by the census and all other ethnographical specifications, the picture of Eastern Galicia in regard to statistics of nationality presents itself as follows:

Areal	Population 1914	Ukrainians	Jews	Poles	Germans
55,300 sq. km	5,450,000	4,055,000	670,000	659,000	65,000
		74.4 %	12.3 %	12.1 %	1.2 %

This picture is essentially different from the official one. What the latter is only indicating the scientific picture is proving: the fact, that **Eastern Galicia is really an Ukrainian country**, just as much as for instance Congress-Poland must be called Polish. Only the Ukrainian population is here

indigenous all elements with other language have later immigrated and have only in insignificant part taken root in the country. Only the Polish great land-owners up to 2,000 in number, yet, it is true, possessing a quarter of the land, and about 100,000 Polish peasants (colonists called into the country by the Polish colonization) German colonists, Jewish tradespeople and merchants in the towns are really settled elements. The whole remainder, in the first place 5 sixth of Eastern Galicia's Poles are a fluctuating element. They are former Austrian officials, subordinate officials, servants of offices, police-soldiers, railway-personal, etc. all of them Poles, immigrated from all territories of Poland, the task of which it was to polonize Eastern Galicia in favour of Austria. Therefore the Eastern Galician towns seem to a foreign traveller to be Polish islets in Ukrainian territory. In reality the Eastern Galician towns have a population mixed up out of Jews and Ukrainians with a slight upper stratum of Polish bureaucracy.

Even the official statistics of 1910, counterfeited beyond measure, were not able to give in the larger Eastern Galician towns more than 35.5% of "Poles" together with 38.5% of Jews, 24.8% of Ukrainians and 1.2% of others. Besides the Ukrainian townspeople is very much on the increase. In the 30 years from 1881 till 1910 the Ukrainian population of Leopold, for instance, has increased for 149%. If the Polish bureaucracy and their followers are removed to their proper place, i. e. to the ethnographically Polish territories, the Polish appearance of the Eastern Galician towns will disappear as by witchcraft.

VIII. Social and Economical Conditions of Eastern Galicia.

Agriculture forms the chief means of living of the Eastern Galician population. According to the statistics of 1910 in regard to occupation 77·86% of the population were occupied in agriculture, 8·26% in manufacture and 7·88% in commerce, 6% finally were belonging to the public service and other callings.

In agriculture there is especially to be noticed the difference between the great landed property and the small farmland of the peasantry.

In 1912 in Eastern Galicia there embraced:

kind of property	arable land		meadows		gardens	
	ha	%	ha	%	ha	%
great estates	707,108	27·2	148,043	21·3	11,701	12·9
property of the peasantry	1,897,978	72·8	547,340	78·7	78,994	87·1
	pasture ground		forests		ponds	
	ha	%	ha	%	ha	%
great estates	94,129	18·9	1,229,082	48·8	16,667	80·3
property of the peasantry	404,858	81·1	221,046	15·2	4,101	19·7

Since the middle of the 19th century the extent of the great estates is diminishing, by parcelling out of 3,000 until 10,000 ha a year during the last decades and selling them over

to the peasantry. Thus Eastern Galicia is a country of small farmers and the rate of agricultural property as regards the extent is to be seen in the following table:

Seize of the establishments in hektars	number of establishments in percents
until 0·5	6·5
from 0·5 until 1	12·6
" 1 " 2	23·5
" 2 " 5	37·2
" 5 " 10	14·4
" 10 " 20	3·7
" 20 " 50	0·7
" 50 " 100	0·2
more than 100	0·34.

In consequence of this table we see the greatest percentage belonging to the petty rural establishment with an extent of until 2 ha (42·6%), then follows the property of small farmers with an extent of 2 until 5 ha (37·2%), a seize, not sufficing to support the whole family of the farmer, but forcing several members of the family to seek occupations away from the agricultural sphere. To the remaining kinds of landed property, offering the farmer the possibility to live with his family on the produce of his land, only a small percentage is belonging. Thus the Eastern Galician peasant's hunger for farmland and the fact of his whole-sale emigration to America or season-migrations for harvest-work abroad, in spite of the fertility of his paternal soil, are to be explained. Hence follows also the urgency of a reform of the possession-titles to farmland, with the object of procuring the farmer — though for compensation — as much soil as will suffice for supporting him.

The Eastern Galician peasant is as a rule tilling the soil himself and is usually aided by his family. Agricultural day-workers and labourers are a rare exception with the peasant and are only to be seen on the great estates. To this is added, that the greatest percentage of peasants in Eastern Galicia are Ukrainians, whilst the number of Poles among them is very insignificant. Great landed proprietors are almost without exception Poles or jews.

In spite of this unhappy conditions in the repartition of soil and the very often still antiquated ways of tillage, Eastern Galicia was one of the richest in grain and meat among the former Austria's provinces and supplying the remainder of her.

Industry and Commerce are but poorly developed in Eastern Galicia in spite of her great riches in raw-produce. World-famed is the production of Ozocerite and Petroleum. In the working of Petroleum there have been extant in 1907 **344** establishments with 1,675 shafts and more than 12,000 workmen.

In the other branches of industry there are very few establishments of the seize and managing of factories and the trade is mostly exercised as primitive handicraft. According to their number and percentage-rate the shoemakers occupy the first place, after them come the weavers, in the third place the tailors, in the fourth place the smiths etc. Weaving is almost exclusively a domestic industry of the farmers.

Among the factories only sawmills, tobacco-manufactories and breweries are worth mentioning.

In general there were extant in the district of the Leopold Chamber-of-Commerce in 1902 79,010 manufacturing establishments with 161,812 workmen and in the district of the Brody Chamber-of-Commerce 28,288 manufacturing establishments with 43,727 workmen.

About two thirds of all manufacturing establishments in Eastern Galicia consist in a single person; in 5% of them also members of the family are aiding; the remainder belongs to such establishments in which alien workers are employed.

Considering the whole amount of all persons, occupied in industry and trade we see 34% belonging to independent, 3.5% to clerks and 62.5% to workmen and servants. The type of the independent small establishment is prevailing.

Also commerce is carried on chiefly in the ways of the independent small establishment. The statistics (1902) count 55% of independent, 8.7% of clerks and 36% of workmen and servants.

The public (civil) service and the liberal professions embraced (1902) 20% of independent, 57.5% officials and clerks and 22.5% workmen and assistants.

Already from this short representation follows, that the social organization in Eastern Galicia is presupposing such a Commonwealth as is based in the peasants and small citizens, the workmen-proletariate is but insignificantly represented.

The till now low condition of industry, commerce and trade is owing to the fact, that Eastern Galicia was also under Austrian rule surrendered at discretion to the Polish authorities. The latter did never care for the development of commerce and industry in Eastern Galicia but spent the taxes, payed by the Eastern Galician population, in keeping alive by artificial means the Eastern Galician great estates and in the economical improvement of Western Galicia and her Polish population. They came even to the outrage of suppressing all the Ukrainians' attempts to improve by their own forces commerce and industry.

Yet in spite of all suppressions the Ukrainian nation has made great progress in the sphere of economical self-help. Since 1883 a great many of Ukrainian **cooperatives** have arisen, united in five great cooperative unions. The Ukrainian Provincial Loan-Cooperative in Leopold, the Provincial Cooperative Stores "Narodna Tarhovla", the Provincial Dairy Cooperative, the Provincial Cooperative for Utilisation of Cattle and the Union of Agricultural Cooperatives. Thanks to these economical organizations the wealth of the Ukrainian population was gradually rising as the Ukrainians have procured themselves their own loan-banks and were carefully watching to avoid economical ransacking by dishonest people.

Besides the above mentioned organizations there were founded Ukrainian insurance-companies colonization-establishments and industrial-banks, savings-banks and the Ukrainian **rural mortgage-bank**, which, in spite of all the permanent hindrances and vexations by the Polish authorities, have essentially contributed towards the development of the Ukrainian population's economical conditions. An important part was performing with regard to that, the Ukrainian agricultural society "Silskyj Hospodar", embracing before the war more

than 100 district branches and about 3,000 local organizations with nearly 200,000 members.

By this active and very fertile organizing work the Ukrainian nation of Galicia has proved its great qualities for cooperation in the important mission of the European East. But to accomplish that it will be necessary to rescue the Ukrainian nation from the Polish leading-strings, born till now, and to give them the possibility to decide freely by themselves the economical conditions of the own country.

IX. The Cultural Work of the Galician Ukrainians in the Last Decades.

When, after the partition of Poland, Eastern Galicia was united to Austria the Ukrainians seemed, in consequence of the Polish terrorism during centuries, to be no more able to keep up their national and cultural originality and to develop themselves. In consequence of the polonizing of the upper classes the Ukrainians came to be an amorphe mass of peasantry out of which not even the Ukrainian clergy was able to elevate themselves as they were also wanting almost all education. From among all their many old cultural institutions the Ukrainians could bring only one safely over the time of Polish suppression: **The Stauropegian Institution in Leopold** (founded in the 16th century, with printing office, bookseller's shop, library, museum, etc.).

Thus it seems almost miraculous, that this peasantry, condemned to national death, was able to produce men like the eminent poet **Markian Šaškevyč** (1835) and others, working eagerly all their lives to give their also under Austrian rule suppressed nation the first glimpses of national consciousness and higher culture.

When in 1867 (begin of the constitutional era) the possibility for a useful cultural work in Galicia was given, the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia founded the first society for enlightening the people "**Prosvita**" (enlightening) at Leopold (1868), doing great work in all Eastern Galicia. In the Eastern Galician towns were founded branches and in the villages reading-halls by the Prosvita and at the begin of the war nearly all Ukrainian communities in Eastern Galicia were provided with such reading-halls.

The aim of "Prosvita" was to awake and develop cultural interests in the Ukrainian nation by popularly written books and booklets. It was caring for the foundation of people-libraries, for the arranging of performances in theater and was editing for the latter popular plays, it organized singing-chorusses and musical bands, arranged courses for teaching analphabets and lectures on all subjects of national, cultural and economical life, that were lectured also by wandering teachers. The cultural work of the "Prosvita" is continued till up to the present day.

Whilst the enlightening society "Prosvita" was considering it their chief task to elevate the cultural niveau of the Ukrainian peasantry the Ukrainian educated founded a spiritual center for uniting the scientific work. Thus in 1874 the **Ukrainian Society of Sciences** was founded in Leopól, called after the name of the greatest Ukrainian poet Šewčenko. There was, before all, working the Professor of university **Omeljan Ohonowskyj**, giving the chief foundations of Ukrainian philology and writing the first history of Ukrainian literature.

The cultural work done by the "Šewčenko-Society of Sciences" was immense, especially from the moment, when the Ukrainian historian Prof. Michael Hrušewskyj, called from Kiev to the Leopól university, was elected to preside it. Prof. **Michael Hrušewskyj**, one of the greatest modern historians of Eastern Europe, wrote a monumental history of the Ukraina, a work, forming, in consequence of the great quantity of collected materials, originality and grandour of ideas, the best source for the Western European scholars in studying the cultural and historical problems of Eastern Europe. He was bringing up several scholars, either developing the ideas of their teacher or going their own individual ways as for instance Stepan Tomašiwskyj, Myron Korduba, Ivan Kriypjakevyč, Ivan Krevečkyj, Volodymyr-Hnatjuk and others. All sections of the "Šewčenko-Society of Sciences", before all the historical and philological ones, the section for natural philosophy, the mathematical and medicinal ones can boast of great work done to the Ukrainian as well as the general European science and culture. There were lecturing: Mathematicians (V. Levyčkyj, M. Čajkovskýj, K. Hlibo-

vyčkyj), physicists (J. Puluj, K. Cehel'skyj, V. Kučer), chemists (J. Horbačev'skyj, J. Hirniak), geographers and geologists (J. Niedzvjeckyj, S. Rudnyčkyj, H. Velyčko), biologists (J. Rakov'skyj, S. Sydorjak), philologists (O. Kolessa, K. Studyn'skyj, J. Svencickyj, M. Voznjak), etc., etc. To the circle of the "Ševčenko Society of Sciences" were also belonging the greatest poets and authors as for instance. **Dr. Ivan Franko**, whose works have been translated into several European languages.

Besides the **Ševčenko Society**, that possesses a great library and museum (also a printing-office, and book-binder's and bookseller's shops) there are existing in Leopold: the Ukrainian National Museum and the institution "Narodnyj dim", both with great libraries, the Society for Popular University Lectures ("Petro Mohyla") and several other scientific and cultural societies, doing great work till they have been recklessly suppressed by the Polish occupation authorities and now, without protection, condemned to dy.

In the sphere of national **education** the Ukrainians were obliged to struggle obstinately against the Galician-Polish provincial government's polonizing practices, favoured by Austria. Whilst the Poles possessed 80 by the state supported public-schools before the outburst of the European War, the Ukrainians were obliged to struggle during a decade for a single "gymnasium", in consequence of which they could wrest hardly five public-schools till 1918 from the Austrian government. For this reason the **Ukrainian Pedagogical Society** was supporting by the means of the Ukrainian society nine private gymnasiums and founded many boarding-houses for poor school-children. The Poles were doing their best to prevent the bringing-up of an Ukrainian educated youth and thus it was exceedingly difficult to obtain subventions from the state for the Ukrainian privat-schools and boarding-houses for pupils.

As it is known, the Ukrainians were obliged to struggle obstinately for obtaining their own **university in Leopold**. The Leopold university, originally destined for the Ukrainians, was later polonized and only several chairs remained Ukrainian. Although the struggle for the Ukrainian university was continued for years and blood and even lives of several students were

spent in it, it was without success till up to the outburst of the European war.

Here must also be mentioned the Galician Ukrainian press, developing itself from humble origins to be a potent factor in the cultural and national life of the Ukrainian nation.

Also in the sphere of economical life, in industry and commerce the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia made great progress in the last decades before the outburst of war. There were founded banks, commercial associations and factories and thus the economical life of the nation could show forth in the last time before the war pleasing results and facts in all spheres, proper to a modern highly cultivated nation.

• Thanks to the fact, that under Austrian rule the Ukrainian language could enjoy of relative liberty and the Ukrainian publishing firms were able to work without obstacles, also the spiritual life of the whole Ukraina, suppressed by Russian despotism, was concentrated in Leopold. Thus Eastern Galicia became the Piemont of the Ukrainian national idea.

X. Viability of the Western Ukrainian Commonwealth.

Since the fall of Austria-Hungary the Polish politicians are exerting themselves to convince all factors of importance in the politic of the world of the **impossibility of a viable independent state in Eastern Galicia**. They declare it to be too small, too poor in produce of all kind, her population not mature enough in politics to administrate the country themselves. It is, as they say, an urgency for Eastern Galicia to be for all future united to Poland.

These assertions, perseveringly propounded through all the world by the cunning Polish diplomacy and press, **are completely false** and serve but as a **cover-shame for the Polish state's lust for imperialistic expansion**.

Eastern Galicia is not too small to become an independent state. With her area of 55,000 sq. km Eastern Galicia would surpass Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Danmark (without the annexes), Albania, Montenegro; with her population of five millions and a half surpass Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, Norway, etc. and be nearly equal to Sweden. The objection to smallness will be in consequence treated with contempt.

Eastern Galicia is one of the countries in Eastern Europe richest in natural treasures. She is not only able to support herself but also to **export many articles of food and raw produce** and possesses great premises for the deve-

lopment of industry and commerce. Rescued from foreign ransacking Eastern Galicia would be one of the European countries most approached to the ideal of economical **autarchy**.

We shall have a critical supervision of the chief natural treasures and branches of economical life in Eastern Galicia, to prove our assertion.

Forestry. Eastern Galicia is a country rich in forests. According to specifications based on the land-register, Eastern Galicia possesses 1,450,301 ha of forested land (26·2%). In spite of the reckless Polish destruction in the forests of Eastern Galicia the country was able to save part of her forest-riches. Yet this happy circumstance is only due to the incredibly great natural increment of timber in the Eastern Galician forests (4—4½ cub. m. for the hektar and year). For the management was even in the forests of the state not the best one and in the private forests was only reigning reckless cutting-down, furnishing the Polish aristocracy the means for leading a luxurious life but procuring the greatest damages to the country (overflowings and covering of the country with moraines, etc.).

Before the great war Eastern Galicia was producing about 6,000,000 cub. m. of wood and exported more than 1,000,000 cub. m. of timber beyond the frontiers of Austria-Hungary. There remained enough for the own demand, to such a degree even that in the larger towns of Eastern Galician wood was the chief fuel.

United to Poland, poor in wood, Eastern Galicia would cease to furnish Europe with wood. Only in an independent Eastern Galician Commonwealth reasonable forestry and plentiful export of its produce will be possible.

Hunting and Fishing have very favourable prospects in Eastern Galicia. Rescued from Polish misrule, Eastern Galicia could not only gain from that branch of economy an important supply for food but also be able to furnish for export.

Agriculture. Eastern Galicia was since the mediaeval times taken to be a country rich in grain and was contributing so much to the grain export of Poland in the 16th and 17th century, that she was finally exhausted and ruined. Under Austrian rule Eastern Galicia was recovering but only in part as the

Austrian-Polish administration was taking all means possible to prevent the rise of the Eastern Galician Ukrainians. As the peasantry of Eastern Galicia counts nine tenths of Ukrainians agriculture was very badly influenced by this Austrian-Polish politics.

The Austrian-Polish **social politic** was exerting all means possible, low taxation, subventions, sinecures, etc. to keep up the **Polish great estates**, more and more decaying since a long periode. Before all the natural crumbling of the badly managed vast estates of Eastern Galicia was kept back by artificial means and their repartition among the Ukrainian peasantry, hungry for farmland, at the least considerably delayed. In consequence of that the great landed property was embracing still in 1912 no less than 37% of the whole Galician area whilst the Ukrainian peasant could buy nowhere farmland neither for love nor money.

He was obliged to break up his land in small lots, every reasonable managing of these petty farms was impossible and pauperism and emigration were sure to follow.

The Austrian-Polish **cultural politic** was trying to prevent the Ukrainian peasant's cultural development, to procure for the present servile subjects and cheap workers and to clear the space for a Polish immigration to Galicia in the future. The elementary schools were only hot-beds of analphabetism, professional schools existed only for the training of clerks for the great estates . . . The exertions of the peasantry to get professional training and professional organizations were treated as dangerous political conjurations and suppressed as far as could be done. Hence came the Ukrainian peasant's antiquated ways of tillage.

But the wonderful tenacity of the Ukrainian farmer nation and their innate love of agriculture were able to elevate the produce of the Eastern Galician soil so much, that **even during the European war there was never the question of hunger here**. Only under Polish occupation 1919 - 1920 hunger made his entrance in Eastern Galicia.

The arable area of Eastern Galicia was 1902: 2,596,259 ha, i. e. 47% of the whole area. Of this the peasants were tilling 73%, the great landed proprietors only 27% (!).

The produce was (average rate of 1905 - 1914) in

wheat	4,656,446 q	
spelt	4,295 "	
rye	4,627,216 "	
barley	2,582,544 "	
oats :	4,588,932 "	legumes 1,089,906 q
mang-corn	5,258 "	potatoes 40,296,809 "
maize	837,290 "	
buck-wheat	532,444 "	
millet	163,929 "	
grain	<u>17,998,354 q</u>	

From these numbers is to be seen at once, that Eastern Galicia would be able, in spite of the illfamed Polish misrule, to support herself. If the obstacles for a sound economical development are removed by the declaration of her independence, Eastern Galicia is not only able to answer the own demand but also to export great deal beyond her frontiers. The unsound conditions in the rural possession-titles must be put in order by a radical land-purchase-act. Only then it will be possible to wrench the Ukrainian peasant from analphabetism and to give him the proper professional training in his own language. By that better ways of tillage will soon be accepted. According to the opinion of expert agronomes the produce of the immensely fertile Eastern Galician soil are easily to be increased to the double and triple amount, and then Eastern Galicia would be an important exportation-country for grain. Not in the less productive great estates (see table on page 32) lies the future of Galician agriculture, but in the eagerly managed small farms. The social conditions and the economical development up to the present are leading Eastern Galicia to this way, to become a state of farmers, chiefly cultivating agriculture and able to give away to foreign countries a great deal of her abundance.

Orcharding and Cultivation of Vegetables is, in consequence of the unsound condition in regard to land-titles and the systemical prevention of a training of the farmers, not very much developed. But already now enough is produced. In the last decade before the war Eastern Galicia had 91,217 ha of

gardens and was producing only in cabbage 1,333,000 q; in carrots 175,037 q, etc.; in fruit 293,219 q (official specification, at least five times too low) and also some wine.

Of industrial plants Eastern Galicia was furnishing a year (1905—1914) 81,832 q of rape-seed 4,660 q of poppy-seed, 1,500 q of aniseed and fennel 42,682 q of linseed 65,889 q of flax fibres, 2,420 q of gold of pleasure, 95,398 q of hemp-seed, 117,624 q of hemp-fibres, 33,937 q of tobacco, 9,055 q of hops, 2,728 q of chicory, 920,045 q of sweet turnips. With the end of Polish misrule and suppression this branch of agriculture would surely have an incredible development.

Eastern Galicia was at the time of her independence the promised land of **cattle-breeding**. Still to the middle of the 17th century immense herds of oxen were brought every year from Galicia to Central Europe. The Polish rule has ruined these riches, the Austrian rule prevented the reestablishment, forcing Eastern Galicia to become — especially during the last decades before the war — the chief furnisher of cattle for Austria. In spite of that, Eastern Galicia possessed in 1910 still 681,087 horses, 1,551,934 cattle, 305,830 sheep, 10,345 goats, 1,317,513 hogs, 7,917,114 fowl. These numbers, great enough in themselves, are insignificant in regard to the possibilities of Galician cattle-breeding. Eastern Galicia has 499,530 ha of meadows and pasturages, among them mountain-meadows surpassing in fertility by far the Swiss and Tyrolian alpine pastures, she produces 42,868,799 q of straw, 14,273,667 q of hay, 5,850,640 q of clover, 1,434,008 q of mash, 4,192,026 q of cattle-turnips, etc., etc. The greatest obstacle for cattle-breeding in Eastern Galicia are the great estates of the Polish nobility, that are breeding ten times less cattle than the Ukrainian small farms, when compared the proportion of area, and hinder by a peculiar politic the development of cattle-breeding. On great estates (more than 100 ha) hardly 13·7% of the horses, 5·7% of the cows, 6·3% of the sheep, 3·3% of the swines were bred. Ukrainian cooperatives for utilization of cattle and dairy-produce and the trade in cattle were shamefully retrained.

Only political independence can warrant a prosperous development of Eastern Galician cattle-breeding.

Very remarkable is the **apiculture** of Eastern Galicia. It was managing in 1910 more than 285,074 bee-hives and produced more than 25,000 q of honey and wax a year.

No less in importance than agriculture and cattle-breeding are the **Mineral Riches** of Eastern Galicia. They are, it is true, not various enough and to insignificant in mass, to make ever Eastern Galicia a manufacturing country. But they suffice perfectly well to cover many demands of the country and to make possible the development of an industry, almost sufficient for the home-demand.

Eastern Galicia's chief **Mining-Produce** are **Petroleum and Salt**.

The petroleum-fields of Eastern Galicia embrace a territory of more than 10,000 sq. km stretching along the border of the Carpathians and enclosing part of the Flysch-zone of the mountains and a stripe of the upland. Within this zone, several hundreds of kilometers in length, there have been opened in several hundreds of places rich petroleum-springs, but peculiarly rich ones within two regions: at Drohobyč (Borislav, Šidnycja, Tustanovyči) and at Kolomyja (Sloboda rangurska, Kosmač). The Galician raw oil is equal in quality to the American one, it yields 50% and more in refined petroleum.

Together with the petroleum there is to be found in some places (Boryslav, Truskavecj, Dzvynjač, Starunja) **Ozocerite**, a mineral to be found in no other place in greater mass.

The petroleum and Ozocerite mining of Eastern Galicia possesses great possibilities of development and would be able to become the most important source of wealth. But the illfamed Polish slovenliness has perhaps been in no other branch of economy so pernicious as just in this. The Galician output of petroleum (nearly 90% of the whole the sole Boryslav fields are furnishing at present) was furnishing 1909 still 20,770,000 q. of petroleum, 1910 there were but 17,620,000 q., 1911 but 14,580,000 q., 1912 but 11,870,000 q., 1913 11,150,000 q. The spoiling of terrain and material, lunatic mania for speculation, most unsound conditions for credit and in employing the workmen have had the greatest influence in this decay. The Galician produce of petroleum can only be increased and form an im-

portant factor in the world's economies, if Eastern Galicia is rescued from the Polish rule and misrule and constituted as an independent commonwealth. Only then the Galician riches in petroleum can become a source of wealth to the country.

Just as vast and rich is the zone of Eastern Galicia producing mineral salt.

The layers of mineral salt at Stebnyk near Drohobyč are still vaster than the world-famed layers of Wieliczka, brine-springs are to be found in hundreds of places along the border of the Carpathians. At the begin of Austrian rule, 150 years ago, Eastern Galicia was counting 92 salt-minings and brine-pans. Salt being in Austria monopoly of the state, the number of minings and the quantity of produce were diminishing very fast. Before the débâcle of Austria there were only 9 salt-works in Eastern Galicia (Lacjke, Drohobyč, Stebnik, Bolechiv, Dolyna, Kaluš, Delatyn, Lančyn, Kosiv) with an output of hardly more than 1,000,000 q. of salt. Rescued from the Polish yoke Eastern Galicia would be able to produce the tenfold quantity of salt. Of the greatest importance are the **Potassic Salts** of Eastern Galicia (Sylvin, Kainit). The rich layers are situated near Kaluš, but have been till now more spoiled than exploited.

Petroleum and salt are only the most important mineral riches of Eastern Galicia, but there are also a great deal of other useful minerals.

Brown Coal is to be found in Eastern Galicia as well in the piedmont-belt of the Carpathians (Myšyn, Džuriv, Novoselycja, Rožniv) as also in the Rostoče (Hlynsjko, Skvarjava, Polany, Potylyč, Ruđa). Although the annual output before the war was insignificant (about half a million of q.), there are yet not altogether wanting good prospects for a future brown coal mining in Eastern Galicia.

To counterbalance the scarcity of coals Eastern Galicia has not only her immense forests but also her **vast turf-mosses**. Eastern Galicia possesses more than 200,000 ha of most rich turf-mosses, the exploitation of which has hardly begun and but to a small degree. This branch of economy has a great future in Eastern Galicia.

In **Iron** Eastern Galicia is very rich: sphaerosiderites in the Carpathian zone of sandstone, limonites (bog-ironore) in the plains. The ironworks, once very actively managed (e. g. near Tisna, Majdan, Skole, Veldiž, Myzunj, Perehynsjko, Pasična, etc.) were blighted by the Western Austrian competition. After recovering her independence Eastern Galicia's produce of raw-iron could be revived and successfully managed.

Eastern Galicia possesses vast layers of **Gypsum** (in the upland belt of the Carpathians, in Podolia and in Pokutia) together with which also **Sulphure** is to be found. Gypsum is extant in many places as pure **Alabaster**. Many places of Eastern Galicia have great quantities of **fireproof Clay** and common potter's clay.

There are good **building-stones** in abundance. The layers of Devon-sandstone at Terebovla could furnish pavement-plates for all Europe. Eastern Galicia is super-abounding in **cement-marl, brick-clay** and **lime**.

To complete the picture of Eastern Galicia's natural riches we must also mention the many **Mineral Springs** (Krynycja, Žegestiv, Truskavecj, Vysova, Lubinj, Burkut, etc.) and, before all, the very important **Water-powers** of the country. They are to be esteemed at least to 500,000 horse-powers the hardly twentieth part of which are made use of at present.

From this picture of the country's natural resources are to be deduced for everybody not prejudiced the following facts:

(1.) That Eastern Galicia is rich enough in provisions and raw produce, to be able as an independent state to support herself even now after a many years' war;

(2.) that Eastern Galicia is already now able to export raw-produce, especially petroleum and timber. Independent and protected from foreign ransacking it will already after few years export many victuals (grain and cattle, salt, etc.);

(3.) that Eastern Galicia, although there is no prospect for her to become a manufacturing state, chiefly by reason of scarcity of the most important raw-materials (coal, iron and other metals), yet has good prospects of development in some branches of industry, being able to supply an export (chiefly chemical industry and preparing of provisions). The demand

of the country herself will be covered within some decades by an indigenous industry, working with water-powers and petroleum-motors.

The present state of Galician **Industry** is still a quite primitive one. The **Domestic Industry** of the Western Ukrainian nation (weaving, tanning, shoemaking, pottery, iron-forging) wood-work, etc.) is, in spite of the various obstacles of every kind till now and the dangerous competition of the factories, still very important and able to be developed. It will cover the chief demand of the peasantry also in the future.

The **Commerce** of Eastern Galicia, so important at the time of independence, has been almost perfectly checked under Polish and Austrian rule. The leading Austrian-Polish factors were suppressing all independent mercantile pursuits in Eastern Galicia and, on the one hand, monopolizing the export of provisions and raw-produce, on the other hand the import of foreign manufacture. In this way the population of Eastern Galicia was twice cheated. The Ukrainians were struggling against this system of ransacking by means of their grand cooperative organizations and got more and more the better. The last Polish occupation has destroyed also these small successes and rendered over Galicia at mercy to the Polish commercial adventurers.

And yet there are opened great prospects for Eastern Galicia's commerce, if her independence is reestablished. The geographical situation opens for Eastern Galicia easy communications towards the South-East (Roumania, the mouths of the Danube) and East (Ukraina, Russia) on the one hand, and the West (Tschechoslovakia and Poland) on the other hand. Although the net of railroads and likewise that of macadamized high-ways is a very sparse one and the navigability of the rivers has suffered very much from the dreadful Polish slovenliness and the country is consequently very much damaged by high-waters (amount of damage in 1884 27 millions of crowns, in 1893 20 millions of crowns!), Eastern Galicia will, after having recovered her independence, become again **an important intermediary and thoroughfare between Eastern and Central-Europe**. What prospects an independent Eastern-

Galician Commonwealth is offering for the world's capital, everybody will be able to imagine, considering these circumstances.

We see from the informations given above, that Eastern Galicia has an important and sufficient foundation for her independence in her seize and natural riches. A second and to the same degree important foundation of this commonwealth the Eastern Galician people offers. Setting aside the handful of Polish officials and ransackers the Austrian-Polish system of administration the country has blessed with, we see a sound, unspoiled, persevering, most frugal and, before all, patriotic, nationalistic farmer nation. There will never be want of active farmer hands ready to work in Eastern Galicia. She was in other times able to send many workers abroad. The Jewish towns-people are very active and modest, with the tolerant Ukrainian population they have always been living in best peace and harmonious cooperation. There will be no trace of national quarrels in Eastern Galicia after the removal of the Polish oligarchs.

There is still less a danger of social quarrels. If the chief basis of the Eastern Galician population, the peasantry will gain good conditions for life and work by enacting a just land-purchase-act, they will keep the state for all future sound and fit for every kind of development. Eastern Galicia will hardly become a country with many and great towns, the town proletariat, till now very few in number will hardly ever increase in number and importance. The industrialism and thus also the preponderance of capitalism and its consequences (socialistic and communistic machinations) will have but very slow progress in Eastern Galicia. Social peace will be secured the Eastern Galician commonwealth for all future.

Considering these numbers and informations only persons who are prejudiced by false informations or who will intentionally back the Polish imperialistic aspirations, so dangerous for the future peace of Europe, will doubt of the viability of an independent Eastern Galician commonwealth.

Concluding Remarks.

Importance of an Independent State in Eastern Galicia for the Consolidation of the International Situation in Eastern Europe.

In consequence of all her characteristics Eastern Galicia belongs to the European East — first and foremost to Great-Ukraina. The country is according to as well her physiographical structure as also river-systems and climate a typically Eastern European country. The circumstance, that in Eastern Galicia the same Ukrainian nation is indigenous as in Great-Ukraina and animated by the same national, cultural and political aspirations forms, besides the nature of the country, the second important tie knotting Eastern Galicia to Eastern Europe. The identity of economical and social conditions forms the third tie.

The political Union of Eastern Galicia with Great Ukraina, perhaps with the great federation of free nations in preparation already on the territories of the Czars' former realm, would consequently be the most natural solution of the so-called Galician question — *de facto et de jure* a historical *restitutio in integrum* — and should be accepted by the whole Ukrainian nation with enthusiasm.

Yet in consequence of the peculiar geographical situation and the conditions created by her history Eastern Galicia's territory and fate are of such minute importance that the idea **to create a separate independent state in Eastern Galicia** is more and more forcing its way in the decisive diplomatical

circles of Europe. And we will point out shortly the peculiar circumstances leading to such a decision.

Eastern Galicia forms, thanks to her geographical situations, the **connecting link between Central and consequently also Western Europe and the East** — so immensely rich in vast natural riches — and just for this reason Eastern Galicia was the gate-way, obstinately contested for by all nations, eager to possess themselves of the key. Through this gate-way the wave of colonization was rolling towards the East where it trickled away. Streams of blood were shed to get possession of the key . . .

The powerful Realm of Kiev was the first to get a firm footing in Eastern Galicia and defended this gateway of nations against the envious neighbours. For all neighbouring states, Hungary as well as Poland, and in the further course of history also Lithuania, were perfectly aware of Eastern Galicia's great importance as a thorough-fare between East and West. To control the most important routs of traffic, running through Galicia, Poland as well as Hungary were using all their strength. Their aspirations were, as is known, frustrated by the rise of an independent Galician-Lodomerian Realm. We have seen, how consolidated and prosperous the political and economical situation was in this part of Europe at the time of this realm. But when Galicia was surrendered to the Polish rule the political balance and the economical prosperity were lost.

To reestablish this balance of power Lithuania in the 15th and the newly constituted Cossack-state of Bohdan Chmelnyckyj in the 17th centuries were exerting themselves. But neither Lithuania nor the Cossacks succeeded in possessing themselves of Galicia and her commercial roads for a longer time. Galicia was pining away under the rule of Poland and with the partition of the latter she was not allotted to Russia but to Austria. The political balance and the economical prosperity remained further disturbed.

Never since Austria had got possession of Galicia, Russia was ready to accept this fact for a final one. Galicia was, according to Russia's aspirations, sooner or later to be retroceded as a part of the former Realm of Kiev. It is also an open

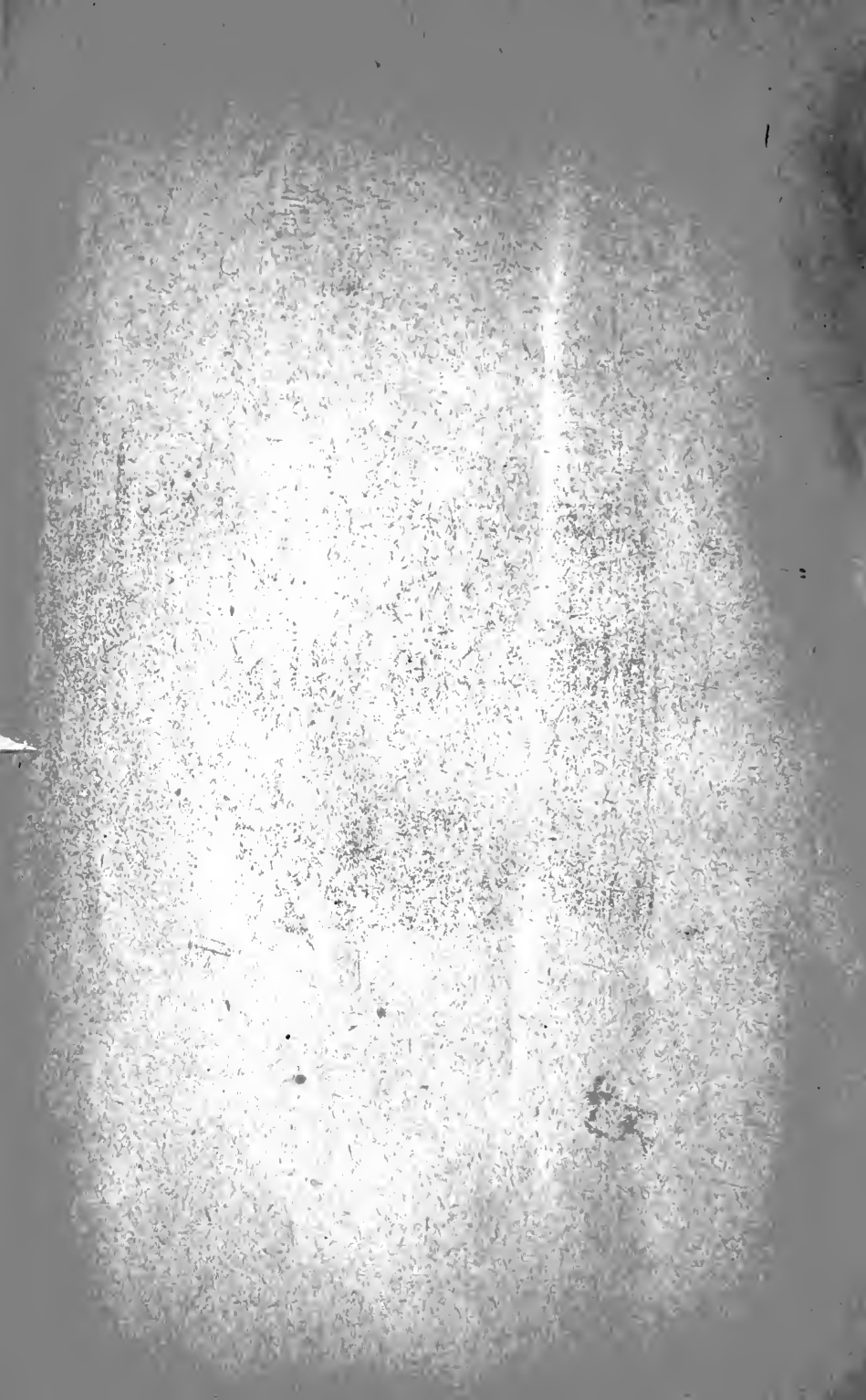
secret that the reunion of Eastern Galicia to Russia was for the latter, besides the conquest of Constantinople the chief end in the Great War (1914—1918). In the so-called Treaty of London the cession of Eastern Galicia to Russia had been expressly promised to Czar Nicolas II. And this treaty was also after the constitution of the Russian Republic revindicated to the Allied Powers by Kerensky. . . .

The idea, to constitute Eastern Galicia as an independent state, suggests itself to the European diplomacy, as it would thus be possible to save for all future the much contested-for country, attracting all her neighbours by her important natural riches, out of the Eastern European political anarchy and strife and by neutralizing the zone of danger for the peace of nations in the East, for that the country is and ever has been, to contribute decidedly to the consolidation of the international situation in this part of Europe.

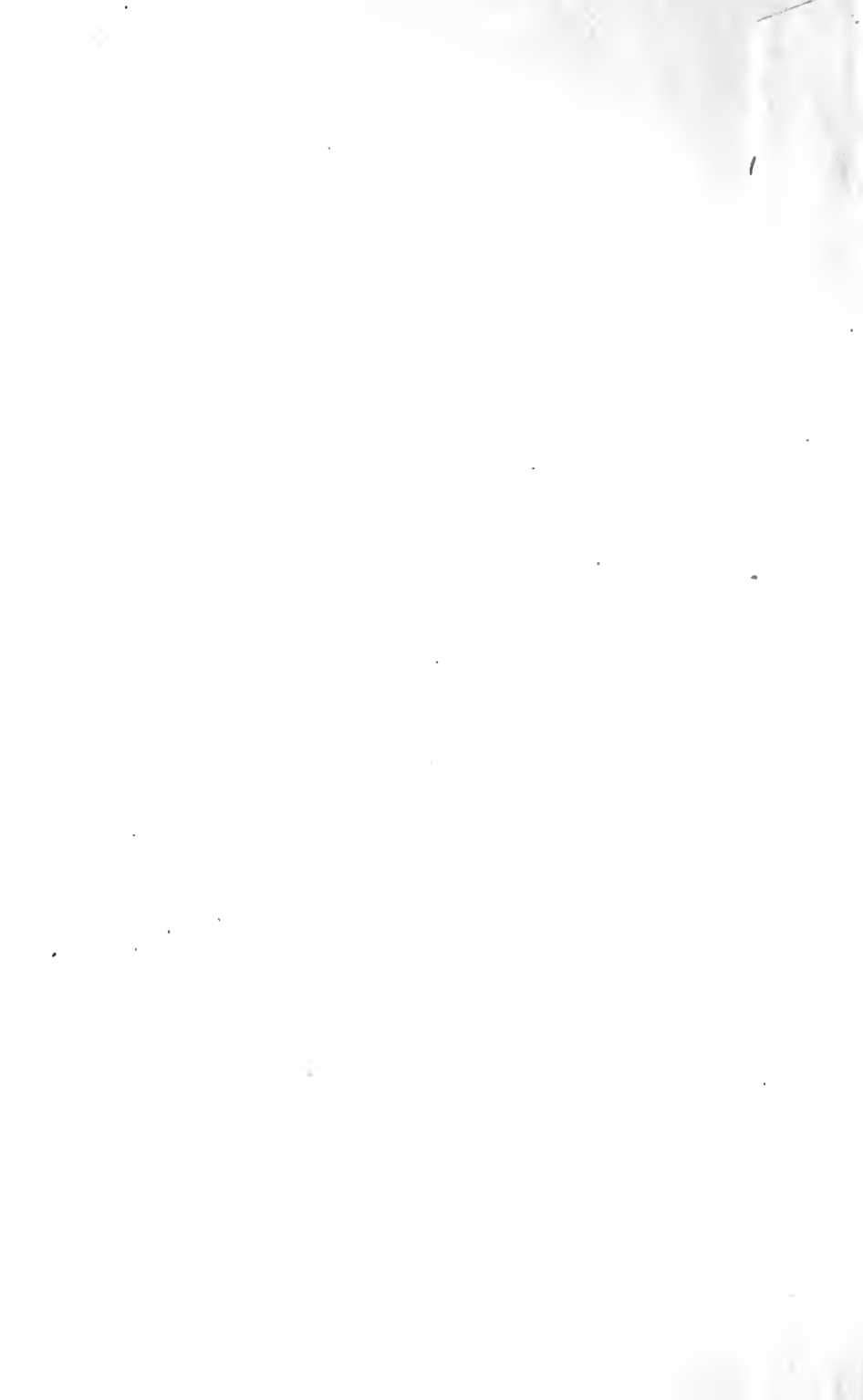
The thus established state, in reality only the reestablished state of Halyč-Wladimir but now called Western Ukrainian National Republic, should be, of course, taken under the special protection of the Liga of Nations and her integrity and sovereignty must be warranted by international treaties.











**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

